

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

GOP FUND RAISING DINNER  
~~SACRAMENTO~~, CALIFORNIA  
SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1972

*Patricia  
Chambers (for ship)*

IN MOVING TO STOP THE INVASION OF SOUTH VIETNAM, GUARD OUR 60,000 TROOPS REMAINING THERE, AND BRING PRESSURE TO END THE WAR ON AN HONORABLE BASIS, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS MOVED DECISIVELY AND COURAGEOUSLY.

HE HAS TAKEN NECESSARY ACTION TO DENY THE ENEMY THE WEAPONS HE NEEDS TO CONTINUE THE AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SOUTH, ENDANGERING BOTH THE SAFETY OF AMERICAN MEN AND THE VIETNAMESE CIVILIAN POPULATIONS ON WHICH THE COMMUNISTS HAVE TURNED THEIR GUNS.

HE HAS PROPOSED A FAIR -- AND A GENEROUS -- PEACE PROPOSAL TO THE ENEMY WHICH CONSTITUTES A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT FOR THE IMMEDIATE MILITARY SITUATION THERE.

AND HE HAS CONDITIONED OUR WITHDRAWAL ON THE VITAL QUESTION OF THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR. SOME WAR CRITICS -- AND SOME OF THE SO-CALLED PEACE CANDIDATES OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY -- HAVE PROPOSED THAT WE SIMPLY GET OUT OF VIETNAM AND LEAVE THE RESOLUTION OF THE FATE OF THESE MEN ASIDE UNTIL THE WITHDRAWAL IS COMPLETE.

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BUT THEY MUST BY NOW, BECAUSE OF THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT IF WE ARE TO WITHDRAW FROM VIETNAM ON A REALISTIC BASIS, WE MUST FIRST SECURE THE RETURN OF THE PRISONERS.

THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES MUST BY NOW REALIZE THAT TO DO ANYTHING ELSE WOULD LEAVE THE FATE OF THESE MEN TO CHANCE -- OR TO THE WHIM OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE -- WHICH AMOUNTS TO THE SAME THING.

PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL EARNS WIDE SUPPORT

ANY PEACE PROPOSAL THAT FAILS TO PROVIDE FOR THE PRISONERS' RELEASE, FAILS TO MERIT CONSIDERATION. THE COMMUNISTS HAVE HELD SOME OF THESE MEN SINCE THE MID-SIXTIES. THEY HAVE SUBJECTED THEM TO INHUMAN AND IMMORAL CONDITIONS, AND ANY PLAN THAT LEAVES THE FUTURE OF THESE MEN UNCERTAIN, LEAVES THE FUTURE OF PEACE IN VIETNAM UNCERTAIN, AND IT LEAVES THE REQUIREMENTS OF SIMPLE JUSTICE AND HUMANITY UNSATISFIED.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL PROVIDES FOR THEIR RELEASE. IT PROVIDES FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED CEASE-FIRE. AND IT TAKES STRONG ACTION TO DEPRIVE THE ENEMY OF THE CAPACITY TO WAGE WAR FAR INTO THE FUTURE.

THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS ARE DECISIVE ACTIONS, AND IN THEM, HE HAS THE FIRM SUPPORT OF AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.



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ENEMY AFTER PR VICTORY

THIS, OF COURSE, IS A MOST CRITICAL FACTOR -- SINCE THE ENEMY IN VIETNAM IS FIGHTING, AS IT HAS FOUGHT ALL ALONG, AS MUCH FOR PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA AS FOR VICTORY ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

IT IS THE HOPE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE, AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT THEM, THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES EVENTUALLY WILL BE PREVENTED BY DOMESTIC DISSENSION FROM TAKING THE ACTIONS THAT NEED TO BE TAKEN.

THEY ARE COUNTING ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO WEARY OF THE WAR AND ITS CHALLENGES -- AND THUS FORCE THE PRESIDENT TO GIVE UP WHAT OUR ENEMY CANNOT WIN BY ITSELF.

FORTUNATELY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW THIS -- PARTICULARLY SINCE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION SWEEPED AWAY ANY REASONABLE DOUBTS THAT WE WERE DEALING WITH NAKED AGGRESSION RATHER THAN SOME SORT OF INTERNAL DISPUTE AMONG SOME RIVAL FACTIONS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

THIS IS AGGRESSION AS MUCH AS HITLER'S BLITZKRIEGS WERE AGGRESSION -- ONLY IT IS NOT SUCCEEDING AND WILL NOT SUCCEED.

PUBLIC SUPPORT RUNS HIGH

ONE NATIONAL POLL THIS WEEK RATED SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS IN MINING THE HARBORS OF NORTH VIETNAM AND BOMBING ITS RAIL NETWORK -- IN ORDER TO STOP THE FLOW OF WEAPONS AND SUPPLIES MAKING THE INVASION POSSIBLE -- AT A RESOUNDING 79 PERCENT.

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IN THE CONGRESS, MEMBER AFTER MEMBER -- EXCEPT THOSE WHO ARE THE PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL OPPONENTS -- HAVE RISEN TO SPEAK IN HIS SUPPORT.

TELEGRAMS RUNNING 5 TO 1 IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT ARE JAMMING WESTERN UNION FACILITIES.

THE SCATTERED DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE HAVE BEEN POORLY ATTENDED, AND THEY HAVE BEEN WITHOUT GENUINE EMOTION.

AND THE RESPONSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA HAS BEEN RESTRAINED.

MEDIA SHOWING FALSE PICTURE

BUT YOU WOULD NEVER KNOW ANY OF THESE FACTS IF YOUR INFORMATION WERE BASED ON WHAT YOU READ IN SOME OF OUR LEADING NEWSPAPERS, SUCH AS THE NEW YORK TIMES, AND HEARD FROM SOME OF OUR MOST FAMOUS TELEVISION COMMENTATORS.

THE NEWS MEDIA IS PRESENTING A FALSE PICTURE OF A DEEPLY DIVIDED AMERICA IN A NERVOUS CRISIS -- RATHER THAN THE TRUE PICTURE OF A LARGELY UNITED AMERICA STANDING FIRMLY BEHIND THE RESOLUTE, BUT CAREFULLY PLANNED AND CALMLY DECIDED, ACTIONS OF ITS PRESIDENT.



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NORMALLY, THIS COULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN A NORMAL EXERCISE IN ROUTINE BIAS BY A NEWS MEDIA WHICH CAREFULLY SELECTS AND EMPHASIZES PARTS TO SUPPORT ITS PRECONCEIVED PICTURE OF HOW THINGS SHOULD BE -- RATHER THAN AN OBJECTIVE ACCOUNT OF REALITY.

*Danger*  
BUT IN THIS CRITICAL HOUR, WITH 12 ~~REGIMENTS~~ OF HIGHLY ARMED ENEMY TROOPS PRESSING DOWN ON 17 MILLION SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND 60,000 AMERICAN TROOPS, IT AMOUNTS TO ATTEMPTED MEDIA SABOTAGE OF THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

HANOI WATCHING NETWORK NEWS

THE LEADERS OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE IN HANOI ARE CAREFULLY MONITORING OUR NEWS MEDIA AND, AS THEY HAVE DONE IN THE PAST, WILL BASE A LOT OF THEIR DECISIONS IN THE CRUCIAL WEEKS AHEAD ON WHAT THEY JUDGE TO BE THE TEMPER AND THE METTLE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR PRESIDENT.

IF THEY BELIEVE THE FALSE PICTURE OF AN EMBATTLED AMERICAN PRESIDENT STRUGGLING TO HOLD SUPPORT FOR CONTROVERSIAL ACTIONS, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE GOING TO MISCALCULATE -- THEY ARE GOING TO MAKE DECISIONS THAT WILL LEAD TO MORE BLOODSHED.

CERTAINLY THEY WON'T BE MAKING THE KIND OF DECISIONS THEY WOULD BE MAKING IF THEY REALLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THREE-FOURTHS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- INCLUDING MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER BEFORE SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT ON THE WAR -- ARE STANDING BEHIND HIS TOUGH ACTIONS TODAY.

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↖ I STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT WE ALL DO OUR BEST TO OVERCOME THIS NEWS MEDIA FILTER ON THE TRUE PICTURE OF AMERICA -- BY DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO PROTEST AND BREAK THROUGH THE PRECONCEIVED PATTERNS THAT THE NEWS MEDIA LEADERS HAVE SELECTED FOR ANYTHING THAT RELATES TO THE WAR.

MEDIA LONG BIASED ON WAR

LONG AGO, FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN, THE NEWS MEDIA DECIDED THAT THE WAR AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN SOUTH VIETNAM WAS WRONG, WAS EVIL AND HAD TO BE IMPEDED AND STOPPED IF POSSIBLE.

THEREFORE, ALL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WAR -- REGARDLESS OF NEW CONDITIONS, SUCH AS THE INVASION, AND REGARDLESS OF THE REFUSAL OF THE OTHER SIDE TO NEGOTIATE ON ANYTHING -- ARE ALWAYS VIEWED THROUGH THE PRISMS OF PREJUDICE THE NEWS MEDIA ALWAYS WEARS WHEN IT VIEWS THE WAR.

THUS WE GET INSTANT EXPERTS AUTOMATICALLY AND SUPERFICIALLY DOWNGRADING THE PRESIDENT'S DECISIONS AS SOON AS THEY ARE ANNOUNCED -- EVEN THOUGH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION MAY HAVE SPENT WEEKS OF CAREFUL, THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF ALL THE POSSIBLE OPTIONS, INCLUDING THE IMPORT OF PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS.

THUS WE GET NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS DEPICTING A FRENZIED NATION ON THE BRINK OF ARMAGEDDON -- WHEN A CALM EXPECTANCY OF EVENTUAL PROGRESS REALLY PREVAILS.



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THUS WE GET A LOT OF NETWORK NEWS FILM ON PHONY RIGGED DEMONSTRATIONS BY PROFESSIONAL ACTIVISTS WHO REPRESENT NOTHING BUT THEIR OWN PSYCHOSES.

AND THESE DISTORTIONS, OMISSIONS, CAREFUL SELECTIONS AND PREJUDICES ARE REPRESENTED TO THE ENEMY AS THE TRUE CHARACTER OF THE NATION AS IT AWAITS THE RESPONSE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

THIS IS NOT ONLY UNFAIR AND UNPROFESSIONAL -- IT IS DOWNRIGHT DANGEROUS. IT COULD COST LIVES.

ALREADY, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE KILLED 20,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS AND HAVE FORCED 700,000 MORE INTO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES. AND THEIR SHELLING OF INNOCENT CITIES GOES BY.

#### BASIC QUESTIONS RAISED

I THINK THE TIME HAS COME FOR NEWS MEDIA LEADERS OF CONSCIENCE, PROFESSIONALISM AND RESPONSIBILITY -- REGARDLESS OF THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS -- TO STEP BACK AND ASK THEMSELVES THESE QUESTIONS.

"ARE WE REALLY BEING OBJECTIVE ABOUT THE WAR, AND ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORT FOR HIS NEW ACTIONS? AND, IF WE ARE NOT, ARE WE CONTRIBUTING TO THE DELAY IN ENDING THE WAR BY ENCOURAGING THE ENEMY, EVEN IF THAT IS NOT OUR REAL INTENTION?"

IF THESE QUESTIONS WERE ASKED BY NEWS MEDIA LEADERS, AND ANSWERED CORRECTLY, I THINK THE IMAGE OF AMERICA IN THE MEDIA COULD CHANGE OVERNIGHT.

THEN THE ENEMY WOULD BEGIN TO SEE THE TRUE PICTURE, AND REALIZE THE HOPELESSNESS OF EXPECTATION THAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA ARE GOING TO CAVE IN AND

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GIVE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE A GREEN LIGHT FOR AGGRESSION AND SLAUGHTER.

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS THE NEWS MEDIA MUST FACE, OF COURSE, IS THAT ITS HISTORIC BIAS ON THE WAR HAS GIVEN IT A VESTED INTEREST IN OUR DEFEAT.

IT, THEREFORE, IS UNDERSTANDABLY RELUCTANT TO REPORT THE PROGRESS THAT IT HAS PREDICTED ALL ALONG WAS IMPOSSIBLE.

IT IS RELUCTANT TO REPORT THE NATIONAL UNITY THAT IT HAS PREDICTED ALL ALONG DOES NOT EXIST.

AND IT IS RELUCTANT TO REPORT THE FRAUDULENT NATURE OF MUCH OF THE SO-CALLED PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS WHEN ALL ALONG IT HAS PREDICTED THEIR VALUE AND THEIR EVENTUAL EFFECT ON PRESIDENTIAL DECISION.

#### TIME FOR CHANGE

BUT THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE PRESS TO BACK UP, SIT DOWN, REVIEW ITS PROFESSIONAL ETHICS AND GIVE AMERICA -- AND THE WORLD -- THE STRAIGHT STORY.

THE STAKES OF THE PRESENT CHALLENGE DESERVE -- AND MUST HAVE -- THAT AS A VERY MINIMUM.



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FOR IN THIS ERA OF INSTANT AND WORLDWIDE COMMUNICATIONS, THE MEDIA IMAGE HAS BECOME A VERY CONCRETE PART OF THE DECISION PROCESS IN THE COUNTRIES OPPOSING AMERICA -- OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, THE LIVES OF OUR MEN AND OF OUR ALLIES' DEMAND THAT MEDIA IMAGE BE BASED ON WHAT THE FACTS ARE.

IF THIS IS DONE, THEN THE ENEMY DECISIONS WILL BE BASED ON THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE STRENGTH OF AMERICA, AND NOT ON SOME DANGEROUS FALSE PICTURES OF OUR NON-EXISTENT MAJOR WEAKNESSES AND NON-EXISTENT VAST DIVISIONS.

INACCURACY -- OR BIAS

I URGE YOU WHEN YOU READ OR LISTEN TO THE NEWS MEDIA, TO KEEP IN MIND THE IMPORTANT DISTINCTION BETWEEN INACCURACY AND BIAS.

IT IS POSSIBLE -- AND THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT IS HAPPENING TOO OFTEN TODAY -- TO REPORT FAITHFULLY AND ACCURATELY WHAT IS CARRIED IN A NEWSPAPER OR OVER A TELEVISION NETWORK.

BUT -- AND THIS IS A BIG "BUT" -- BECAUSE THE THINGS THAT ARE CARRIED HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY SELECTED, WITH A LOT OF OCCURRENCES ON THE OTHER SIDE BEING IGNORED, A FALSE, BIASED PICTURE RESULTS -- EVEN IF ALL THE REPORTING IS DONE ACCURATELY.

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SELECTION OF TOPICS AND EVENTS TO DEPICT A BIAS, WITH THE EXCLUSION OF EVIDENCE SUPPORTING THE OPPOSITE VIEW -- THIS IS ONE OF OUR BIGGEST PROBLEMS.

THE NEXT TIME YOU SEE SOME INSIGNIFICANT DEMONSTRATION GIVEN EQUAL SPACE OR TIME TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES -- STAND UP AND PROTEST.

LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT I AM NOT URGING A NEWS MEDIA BIAS, OPPOSITE TO THE ONE NOW GENERALLY HELD.

THE PRESS OF THE NATION IS BASICALLY SUSPICIOUS OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE NATION. THIS IS GOOD AND THE WAY IT SHOULD BE.

WE DON'T WANT ANY WEAK-KNEED MEDIA PARROTING SOME OFFICIAL LINE AND RE-PRINTING GOVERNMENT HANDOUTS IN THEIR ENTIRETY AS NEWS.

BUT WHAT WE DO WANT IS A FAIR SHAKE IN THE MEDIA FOR ALL POINTS OF VIEW. WE WILL TAKE OUR CHANCES WITH A TOUGH BUT BALANCED REPORT ON AMERICA -- THAT IS NOT WHAT WE ARE GETTING TODAY.

WITHOUT IT, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE MAY CONTINUE TO MISCALCULATE THE STRENGTH OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT. WITHOUT IT, THEY MAY CONTINUE TO TAKE THEIR CUES FROM A DISTORTED IMPRESSION OF WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL TOLERATE.



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IF THE MEDIA COULD ACHIEVE MORE BALANCED REPORTAGE -- IF IT COULD OFFER NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY A MORE ACCURATE PICTURE OF AMERICA, THE IMMEDIATE FALL-OUT FROM SUCH A CHANGE MIGHT BE A CHANGE IN THE CONFIDENCE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. TODAY THEY BELIEVE THEY NEED ONLY PLAY A WAITING GAME -- AND NOT A VERY LONG ONE AT THAT -- AND EVENTUALLY AMERICA'S WILLINGNESS TO STAND FIRM AGAINST THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION WOULD FALTER.

THAT IS NOT THE CASE. THE POLLS SHOW IT. THE TELEGRAMS JAMMING WESTERN UNION SHOW IT. IT IS TIME NOW FOR THE MEDIA TO SHOW IT SO THAT, UNITED, WE CAN BRING ABOUT AN END TO THIS WAR AND HELP BRING A PEACEFUL TOMORROW TO THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM.

AND IF WE DO, WE WILL HAVE GIVEN STILL FURTHER PROMISE THAT THE GOAL OF EVERY AMERICAN -- A FULL GENERATION OF PEACEFUL TOMORROWS -- THE GOAL RICHARD NIXON HAS DEFINED FOR US -- CAN BE ACHIEVED.